

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SEOUL 6481

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UNGA KS KN

SUBJ: ROK MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN

SUMMARY: ROK CONTEMPLATING CIRCULATING MEMO TO UNGA MEMBERS
EARLY IN SEPTEMBER, OUTLINING ROK POSITION ON UN MEMBERSHIP.
TEXT APPEARS IN THIS MESSAGE. MOFA THINKS NORTH KOREANS MAY
HAVE BEEN MOTIVATED TO DENOUNCE CONCEPT OF SIMULTANEOUS UN
MEMBERSHIP FOR NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA BY WITHDRAWAL OF U.S.
OPPOSITION TO VIETNAM (VN) MEMBERSHIP, AND POSSIBLE CONSEQUENT
REDUCTION OF OPPOSITION TO ROK MEMBERSHIP ON PART OF UNSC
NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS NOW THAT ROK MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN DIS-
ASSOCIATED FROM POPULAR VN CAUSE. REQUEST DEPARTMENT AND USUN
COMMENTS. END SUMMARY.

1. ON JULY 29 MOFA UN DIVISION CHIEF YI CHONG-PIN HANDED
EMBOFF PROPOSED DRAFT MEMORANDUM, TEXT OF WHICH APPEARS BELOW,
REGARDING ROK MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN. YI SAID MOFA WOULD
LIKE TO HAVE MEMORANDUM DISTRIBUTED BY SECRETARIAT EITHER
AS AN OFFICIAL ROKG COMMUNICATION OR AS AN INFORMATION
DOCUMENT, BUT DOES NOT WISH TO SUBMIT IT UNTIL SEPTEMBER 1.
THIS WOULD PERMIT CONSIDERATION BY U.N. MEMBER NATIONS
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PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 20 UNGA OPENING, BUT WOULD BE WELL AFTER
AUGUST 21 DEADLINE FOR SUBMITTING UNGA ITEMS UNDER NORMAL
PROCEDURES. PURPOSE OF DELAYING SUBMISSION UNTIL THIS TIME
WOULD BE TO AVOID STIMULATING NORTH KOREA INTO TAKING SOME
PRECIPITATE ACTION UN. ROKG NOT NOW PLANNING TO APPLY FOR UN
MEMBERSHIP AT 32ND UNGA.

2. YI NOTED THAT LANGUAGE IN MEMO REFERRING TO SOVIET VETOS OF ROK UN MEMBERSHIP AND OTHER SOVIET STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS HAD BEEN LEFT DELIBERATELY VAGUE IN ORDER TO AVOID ANTAGONIZING U.S.S.R. YI ALSO NOTED THAT NDFERENCE IN LAST PARAGRAPH TO ROK QUALIFICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP WERE LIFTED FROM SPEECH AT UNGA BY AMB. SCRANTON.

3. YI SAID RECENT NORTH KOREAN PRESS CONFERENCE AT UN IN WHICH POSSIBILITY FOR DUAL ADMISSION OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA WAS HIGHLIGHTED INDICATED NORTH KOREANS WERE WORRIED ABOUT PROSPECT OF ROK ADMISSION. YI SAID THAT SINCE U.S. WITHDREW OPPOSITION TO VIETNAM MEMBERSHIP, NORTH KOREA MAY THINK THAT OPPOSITION TO ROK MEMBERSHIP MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN WEAKENED. HE THOUGHT THAT NORTH KOREA WAS ALSO CONCERNED THAT ROK POSITION WAS GIVEN SUPPORT WHICH MAY HAVE ACCOUNTED FOR EMPHASIS GIVEN DUAL ADMISSION IN NORTH KOREAN PRESS CONFERENCE.

4. TEXT OF ROKG DRAFT MEMORANDUM IS AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE MEMORANDUM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA REGARDING ITS MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

1. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, HAVING ACHIEVED ITS INDEPENDENCE ON 15 AUGUST 1948 UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, APPLIED FOR ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS AS EARLY AS 1949, IN THE EARNEST DESIRE TO MAKE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE MAINTENANCE AND CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE
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AND SECURITY AND TO THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION WITHIN THE FRAME WORK OF THE WORLD ORGANIZATION. HOWEVER, SUCH AN APPLICATION WAS DENIED BY A NEGATIVE VOTE OF ONE PERMANENT MEMBER AT THE 423RD MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 8 APRIL, 1949.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN ITS FOURTH SESSION ADOPTED A RESOLUTION (RES. 296(IV) G) IN WHICH IT CONFIRMED THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA'S FULL QUALIFICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND RECOMMENDED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL RE-CONSIDER THE APPLICATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. SINCE THEN, ONE PERMENENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS PERSISTENTLY EXERCISED ITS VETO POWER TO DENY THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA'S APPLICATION IN 1955, 1957 AND 1958, CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER AND IGNORING THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. IN 1975, THE SECURITY COUNCIL DENIED EVEN CONSIDERATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA'S APPLICATION.

THESE FAILURES OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO RECOMMEND THE ADMISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE LED THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO ADOPT

RESOLUTIONS (RES. 817 (IX), RES. 1017 (XI) A, RES. 1144 (XII) A) REAFFIRMING THAT THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS FULLY QUALIFIED FOR ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

2. MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA ON JUNE 23, 1973 MADE IT CLEAR IN ITS POLICY STATEMENT THAT, AS AN INTERIM MEASURE DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD PENDING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE NATIONAL UNIFICATION, IT WOULD NOT OBJECT TO ITS ADMITTANCE INTO THE UNITED NATIONS TOGETHER WITH NORTH KOREA, IF THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBER-STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS SO WISH.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH
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OF KOREA IN THE UNITED NATIONS, ACCEPTING THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE CHARTER, WILL MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONSOLIDATING PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND FURTHER HELP CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR CONCILIATION AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THEM THROUGH THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK OF THE WORLD ORGANIZATION.

3. SO FAR, NORTH KOREA HAS TAKEN A DIFFERENT POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF THE ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS. IT HAS ARGUED THAT THE ADMISSION OF BOTH SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA WOULD PERPETUATE NATIONAL DIVISION. HOWEVER, IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT IN SOME CASES, TWO OR MORE MEMBERS WITH PLURAL REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED AS CONSTITUENT PARTS OF ONE NATION, AND IN OTHERS TWO OR MORE MEMBERS HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY MERGED BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT INTO A SINGLE MEMBERSHIP. FURTHERMORE, THE TWO SEPARATE MEMBERSHIPS IN THE UNITED NATIONS CAN BE PROMPTLY MERGED INTO ONE WHENEVER THE UNIFICATION OF KOREA HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

MOREOVER, THE ACTUAL BEHAVIOR OF THE NORTH KOREAN REGIME CONCERNING THE ISSUES OF TERRITORIAL DIVISION AND MEMBERSHIP HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN CONSISTENT WITH ITS OWN WORDS. IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT NORTH KOREA, APART FROM THE FACT THAT IT APPLIED FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS IN 1949, AND 1952 (S/1247, S/2468 RESPECTIVELY), HAS JOINED A NUMBER

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OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS SUCH AS WHO, UNESCO, WMO, IAEA, AND UNCTAD BEGINNING IN 1973, OF WHICH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS LONG BEEN A FULL MEMBER. NORTH KOREA ALSO BECAME A MEMBER OF NUMEROUS OTHER GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WHERE THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAD ALREADY ACQUIRED MEMBERSHIP, THUS FURTHER ESTABLISHING THE CASE OF DUAL REPRESENTATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

THESE FACTS UNVEIL NORTH KOREA'S FALLACIOUS DOUBLE STANDARD OF OBJECTING TO THE CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE PENDING UNIFICATION ON THE ONE HAND, AND PURSUING THE ROAD TOWARDS THE RECOGNITION OF TWO KOREAS ON THE OTHER.

IT WAS A SHEER IRONY THAT AT THE 789TH MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN SEPTEMBER 1957, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ONE PERMENENT MEMBER STATE WHICH HAD PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN BRINGING ABOUT NORTH KOREA AS A SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY YEARS AGO AND WHICH FOR SO LONG DENIED ADMISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO U.N. MEMBERSHIP PROPOSED THE SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION OF BOTH SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA TO THE UNITED NATIONS (S/3887), BY STATING THE "THE ONLY POSSIBLE WAY TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF KOREA'S ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS IS TO RECOMMEND THAT BOTH PARTS OF THE COUNTRY SHOULD BE

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ADMITTED SIMULTANEOUSLY". THE SAME REPRESENTATIVE FURTHER ADVOCATED THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS WHEN ARGUING FOR THE SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION OF SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA TO U.N. MEMBERSHIP.

4. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA SHARES THE VIEW THAT THERE COULD BE NO OTHER CONDITIONS THAN THE ONES STIPULATED IN ARTICLE 4

OF THE CHARTER IN EXAMINING THE APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

ACCORDINGLY, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA BELIEVES THAT THE POSITION OF ONE PARTY OF A DIVIDED NATION WHICH CHOOSES TO REMAIN OUT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO IMPOSE ARBITRARILY ANY ADDITIONAL CONDITION ON THE ADMISSION OF THE OTHER PARTY WHICH DESIRES TO JOIN THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE WHEN THE PARTY WHICH DESIRES TO JOIN THE UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTS AN OVERWHELMINGLY LARGER NUMBER OF THE POPULATION OF THE DIVIDED NATION. THE DESIRE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE UNITED NATIONS, THEREFORE, CANNOT BE IMPEDED BY THE NORTH KOREAN OPPOSITION.

5. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HOLDS THE VIEW THAT ARTICLE 4 OF THE CHARTER SHOULD BE APPLIED TO ALL APPLICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP ON A STRICTLY EQUAL BASIS. THE REALIZATION OF THE GOAL OF UNIVERSALITY IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS MUST NOT BE HAMPERED DUE TO CERTAIN DISCRIMINATORY AND SELECTIVE APPLICATION OF THIS ARTICLE, AS IN THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. IT IS RECALLED THAT ONE NON-ALIGNED MEMBER STATE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL DURING THE DELIBERATIONS ON THE APPLICATION OF ANGOLA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 1974TH MEETING IN NOVEMBER 1976 HAS DECLARED THAT "ANY ATTEMPT TO FORGE OTHER CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS OTHER THAN THOSE STIPULATED IN THE CHARTER IS AN UNFORGIVABLE TRANSGRESSION AND A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE CHARTER."

6. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS A PEACE-LOVING STATE WHICH IS ABLE AND WILLING TO CARRY OUT THE OBLIGATIONS CONTAINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. AS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS REPEATEDLY CONFIRMED THROUGH ITS RESOLUTIONS, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS FULLY QUALIFIED FOR ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS. FURTHERMORE, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS BEEN EXCEPTIONALLY SUCCESSFUL IN ITS DEVELOPMENT EFFORT IN MANY FIELDS AND HAS BEEN ACTIVELY PROMOTING THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION SINCE ITS INDEPENDENCE IN 1948.

THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS COULD NOT BE REALIZED IF THE ORGANIZATION FAILS TO EMBRACE A WELL-QUALIFIED STATE WHOSE POPULATION IS GREATER THAN THAT OF 124 MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND WHOSE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT EXCEEDS THAT OF 107 OF THE CURRENT MEMBERSHIP. THE ADMISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO U.N. MEMBERSHIP WILL MARK YET ANOTHER IMPORTANT

MILESTONE IN THE ANNALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND WILL
ENHANCE UNIVERSAL REPRESENTATION IN THE WORLD ORGANIZATION,
ADVANCING PEACE, SECURITY AND THE PROMOTION OF COOPERATION
AMONG NATIONS. END QUOTE.

5. YI SAID RESOLUTION WOULD BE FURTHER MASSAGED IN MOFA
AND WOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO ROK MISSION IN NEW YORK FOR
CONSIDERATION AT U.S.U.N. HE VOLUNTEERED, HOWEVER, THAT HE
WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTIONS IF EMBOFF FORWARDED TEXT TO
DEPARTMENT FOR COMMENT. EMBASSY FEELS TEXT MAY TEND TO
OVER-EMPHASIZE OPPOSITION TO ROK MEMBERSHIP DURING COLD WAR
PERIOD AND THUS REMIND U.N. MEMBERS UNNECESSARILY THAT
KOREAN PROBLEM REMAINS A HOLDOVER FROM THIS PERIOD. WE
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ARE, THEREFORE, INCLINED TO SUGGEST DOWNPLAYING THIS
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND WHILE LEAVING INTACT THE LATTER
PORTION OF THE MEMORANDUM. WE ARE INCLINED TO AGREE
THAT NORTH KOREA HAS BEEN FORCED ON THE DEFENSIVE
REGARDING THE QUESTION OF DUAL U.N. MEMBERSHIP, AND
THAT THE SHIFT IN THE U.S. POSITION ON VIETNAM MIGHT HAVE
SOME KINETIC EFFECT ON NATIONS WHICH PREVIOUSLY OPPOSED
ROK MEMBERSHIP BECAUSE OF LINKAGE WITH VIETNAM. DEPARTMENT
AND U.S.U.N. MAY WISH TO CONSIDER, ONCE IT BECOMES CERTAIN
THAT NORTH KOREA'S FRIENDS ARE NOT SUBMITTING RESOLUTION
ON THE KOREAN QUESTION, TAKING SOUNDINGS OF NON-PERMANENT
MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL TO SEE IF ATTITUDE SHIFT ON
THE QUESTION OF ROK U.N. MEMBERSHIP HAS IN FACT TAKEN PLACE.
MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF ROK POSITION IN SECURITY COUNCIL MIGHT
PROVE USEFUL IN PRESSURING NORTH KOREA INTO TAKING A MORE
REASONABLE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ROK.

6. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THE DEPARTMENT'S AND USUN'S
COMMENTS.
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